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The Shape of Things

SINCE THE SHOWDOWN ON FORMOSA MORE than a week ago the Truman-Acheson position has hardened, and the other side, led by Republican Senators Knowland and Smith with General MacArthur not far behind, has been put on the defensive. Although Republican leaders are divided on the issue, the aggressive interventionists have edged the party out along an uncomfortably shaky limb. Within the Administration the hands-off policy represents a victory for Secretary Acheson over Secretary Johnson. Thus for the time being at least, common sense is in the ascendant, but whether its victory is more than tactical and temporary is yet to be seen. Johnson is a tough fighter, and he has on his team a good part of the Pentagon crowd, along with the redoubtable MacArthur. He seems also to have the Chinese Communists. Certainly no coalition of brass and diehard Republicanism could so effectively undermine the State Department's announced policy as the seizure by the Communists of our consular offices in Peking. This quite unnecessary piece of provocation may postpone indefinitely recognition of the new government and swing considerable support, in and out of Congress, to the Republican "get-tough" position. It may encourage Secretary Johnson to speak more frankly before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee than he would have felt free to do otherwise, and induce the Chiefs of Staff, soon to start on a tour of the Pacific which will include Formosa, to press the interventionist view to which General MacArthur converted them. Worst of all, the stupidity of the Chinese Communists will tend to blur the chief argument against further aid to Chiang Kai-shek, which rests not on their virtues or friendly behavior but on the demonstrated failure of the reactionary, corrupt, and inefficient regime they have defeated and driven into exile.

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ARTIFICIALLY CONNECTED WITH CHINA IS the question whether we should send an ambassador to Madrid and make a present of several millions or hundreds of millions of dollars to Francisco Franco. Coldly analyzed, the one has nothing to do with the other. Recognition of Communist China has not been banned by the United Nations as was the sending of an ambassador to Franco Spain. The basic issue in the case of Spain is that its fascist regime was put in power by Hitler and Mussolini, was an Axis ally throughout the war, and has not been overthrown or even altered in the slightest degree since. It was because of this that Franco was declared internationally an outlaw and excluded from the United Nations and because of this that the General Assembly asked all member nations to penalize him by withdrawing their diplomatic chiefs. Ignoring all this, Vatican agents and various reactionaries in Congress want to rush to his rescue at a moment when the regime is collapsing under the weight of its own corruption and inefficiency. Franco's bankruptcy has reached such extremes that even Perón refuses to send him a bushel of wheat or a pound of meat until he can pay for them in cash. The story that the Chase National Bank is about to arrange a new loan based on Spain's gold reserve—known to have dwindled almost to the vanishing point—suggests that Franco may receive a little temporary relief. But it does not offer much security to economy-minded Congressmen who already have their knives out to chop down American aid to more stable and friendly European governments. Even the argument that fascist Spain will be a dependable ally in the cold war has been weakened by reports from Madrid that Franco is trying to get grain from the Soviet Union. It does not look as if he would prove a much better ally than Chiang Kai-shek.

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THE WAR OF ATTRITION IN THE COAL FIELDS is growing fiercer. John L. Lewis's attempts to disrupt the united front of the operators have failed, and now he is being counter-attacked with legal actions. One group of mine owners has filed charges with the NLRB, alleging that the United Mine Workers have refused to bargain in good faith. A number of Ohio producers have brought suit in the state courts, claiming injury by a conspiracy between the union and small independent operators, who after settling have been able to return to a five-day week. These anti-union moves were followed by large-scale and widespread stoppages in many pits. It is claimed that the walk-outs were spontaneous, and Lewis has "suggested" that the men involved go back—on a three-day week basis, of course. Although operators assert that "mystery" strikes are really inspired by union headquarters and anticipate new stoppages, reports indicate that these *are* spontaneous acts by the pit workers in-

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Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
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Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

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tended to put pressure on Lewis. Meanwhile pressure on the President to invoke the Taft-Hartley act is mounting, and a group of Republican Senators have introduced a resolution calling on him to declare a national emergency as a preliminary to moving for a court injunction against the miners. Lewis has denounced such proposals, but he might be pleased if the President resorted to the Taft-Hartley procedure, since he could then retreat from an exposed position under cover of a smoke screen of high-powered abuse of the Administration. But there is no reason why Mr. Truman should oblige the operators, the Republicans, or Mr. Lewis, and he is wisely sitting tight until the coal shortage reaches the point of unmistakable emergency.

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PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE HAS CHOSEN THE lesser of two evils in deciding to hold the general election next month instead of keeping the present Parliament alive for its full legal term. February weather seldom provides good conditions for campaigns. On the other hand, postponement of the election until summer would have left Parliament with little to do but bicker, since the Labor government has completed its program and needs a new mandate before it can proceed. Although the latest British Gallup Poll gives Churchill's party a slight edge, most observers guess that Labor will win with a much reduced majority. Undeniably the government's stock, which slumped when sterling was devalued, has recovered in the last two months. Tory prophecies of catastrophe have not been fulfilled, and there has been a modest but distinct improvement in the economic position. Election forecasting, however, is more than usually hazardous. A Redistribution Act to conform with population shifts has changed the boundaries of all but 62 of 625 election districts. Again, there will be many more three- and four-cornered contests than in 1945 because the Liberal and Communist parties plan to nominate larger numbers of candidates. The Liberals hope to win a balance-of-power position. As for the Communists, they will be lucky to retain the two Parliamentary seats they now hold. However, they may take enough votes from Labor to insure some Tory victories. That, presumably is their aim, since they deem a Labor government a greater obstacle to their success than a Tory one.

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AT LEAST ON THE POLITICAL FRONT THE will-o-the-wisp of labor unity appears to be closer to capture than it has ever been, if not exactly within reach. A group of unions in New York City, A. F. of L. and C. I. O., have set up a United Labor Committee representing something like one million members, a direct result of the venture in cooperation that worked so successfully in the O'Dwyer-Lehman campaign last

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fall. Significant as the alliance is, it is admittedly limited in its scope. In state-wide politics there is still a considerable gap between the attitudes of the two federations toward the Dewey administration, and on a national level such close cooperation has been barred by action of the A. F. of L.'s executive council. Moreover, not all member unions are involved in the city-wide alliance. The powerful International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and several smaller groups prefer to function politically through the Liberal Party, and the few small C. I. O. unions still under Communist influence give allegiance to the American Labor Party. It is inevitable for unionists in the I. L. G. camp to regard the United Labor Committee as Mayor O'Dwyer's organization. Officials of the new group insist, however, that it is not "bound to any political party." Some of the founders even regard their project as a "powerful antidote" to a resurgence of Tammany. Whatever the future, out of this alliance is bound to come an easing of organizational as well as political differences.

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AMONG THE LIVELY PRIMARIES THAT LOOM just ahead, none should be livelier, or more important, than the prospective battle for the governorship of Georgia. The Democratic primary, of course, is all that counts in that state, and all signs point to a contest between Ellis Arnall and Herman Talmadge. Arnall is the man who revolutionized politics in Georgia from 1943 to 1947, the exponent of the "New South," and the only man who ever beat "Old Gene" Talmadge in that primitive demagogue's five campaigns for the governorship. "Young Hummon," lacking his father's flair but none of his dubious political principles, is the man who, on the basis of a few write-in votes, seized the State House in 1947, when "Old Gene" died between his nomination and the election. Attorney General Cook has invoked some nice technicalities to rule that in spite of the state's constitutional provision against a governor's succeeding himself within four years of an unexpired term, both men are eligible. The voters of Georgia are to be congratulated on having once more the opportunity for a clear choice. Under Herman Talmadge the Klan has flared up again, the legislature has refused to pass a state-wide anti-mask law, and the state has been repeatedly disgraced by acts of racial violence. The Governor has set himself the task of systematically removing from the registration rolls as many as possible of the 120,000 Negroes who, in large part, obtained the franchise under Arnall. In Arnall's favor is the fact that this purpose cannot be achieved in time to affect the coming primary, but against him is Georgia's archaic county-unit rule, which still leaves the urban communities completely at the mercy of the "wool hat" boys of the rural counties.

THE (BRITISH) COMMONWEALTH OF Nations—officially the limiting adjective has been dropped as no longer appropriate—is a highly informal organization. In no sense a super-state, it is a group of sovereign nations with certain historical and other ties which agree to consult continuously on matters of common interest. At periodic meetings its leading statesmen attempt to reach if possible a consensus of opinion on mutual problems but to leave each government free to determine what action it will take. These facts must be borne in mind when one reviews the Colombo Commonwealth conference just ended. For instance, the reported "agreement" to recognize the Bao Dai regime in Viet Nam, which was urged on the conference by the British delegates but strongly opposed by Premier Nehru of India, does not mean that all Commonwealth members will now take this step. Even wider differences appeared during discussions of Communist China: Britain, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, which have all recognized the Peking government, lined up against the "old dominions"—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa—whose representatives seemed anxious to wait for a lead from Washington. On the general question of opposing Communist advances in Asia, all members of the Commonwealth appear to share the view that an increase in economic welfare must be the first line of defense. Because of the poverty of the Asiatic members of the Commonwealth, the economic strains to which Britain is already subjected, and the relatively limited resources of the other Commonwealth nations, no development plan for Southeastern Asia commensurate with its needs can be undertaken without American aid.

How to Save the U. N.

THE power-politics motif which has permeated the Jerusalem question shows little sign of disappearing, though in the United States, Britain, and France, press and public have shown intense disapproval of the Vatican-contrived United Nations decision of December 9, 1949.

That this internationalization plan cannot be implemented and has no basis in reality is already clearly indicated in the efforts of the president of the Trusteeship Council, Roger Garreau of France, to devise a new formula ostensibly under the umbrella of the old one. M. Garreau has been pressing for an adaptation of a proposal put forward privately last October by the Archbishop of Canterbury and rejected at that time by the delegate of Lebanon as a typical British compromise. The Garreau formula admits that the new city of Jerusalem is in fact new and not "holy" and that the principal

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shrines are in the old city. It recognizes that the greater part of the new city belongs to Israel, and places no barriers in the way of making Jerusalem the capital of the Jewish state. Abdullah is the principal loser. He is left only the Arab quarter of the old city.

The old city itself, with certain areas immediately outside its walls, is to be constituted an international enclave under U. N. authority and demilitarized. Abdullah's one prize is the city of Bethlehem, which he now holds. Here only the Church of the Nativity is to be internationalized and also demilitarized.

The principal advocate of the plan is France, still pursuing the mirage of revived power in the Middle East. The French see in the Garreau formula a way of settling their old score with Britain by throwing the British puppet Abdullah out of Jerusalem and simultaneously strengthening French relations with Lebanon and Syria.

Thus far there are few indications that the proposal has either American or British support. Britain in particular is not likely to back a plan which would dispossess Abdullah—certainly not until an agreement has been reached between Abdullah and Israel satisfying the strategic interests of Great Britain. Abdullah is demanding from Israel, as part of a final settlement, port rights on the Mediterranean and a corridor through Israel to the sea. This obviously means giving Britain access to the Mediterranean from its inland bases in Jordan and Iraq. Israel, opposed in principle to the idea of a *corpus separatum,* cannot in any case endanger delicate negotiations with Abdullah for an over-all peace settlement by approving a Jerusalem solution which knocks out Abdullah's claims.

The plan, however, is approved by the Vatican. And the Vatican's approval is based on its fixed desire to see a *corpus separatum* established under United Nations authority. It prefers to yield on the question of area rather than on that of separate entity. Were the plan to go through, there would be in effect a U. N. city analogous to the Vatican City, with effective control almost certainly exercised by the Roman Catholic church. In fact, the Lateran Treaty is to be the model for conducting the affairs of the enclave. This is the prize for which the Vatican has been fighting.

It is difficult to see how the Garreau plan can be formally dealt with by the Trusteeship Council on any honest basis. Clearly it is not in accord with the December 9 resolution. Nor is it in accord with the Charter, which makes no provision for establishing a separate state in any part of the world under permanent U. N. supervision. And there is still the hurdle to be cleared of winning the consent of both Israel and Jordan.

It is evident from this summary that in all the maneuvers and counter-maneuvers the stake is not the Holy Places; the stake is control. The Vatican's primary interest cannot be the Holy Places if it is ready to concede Bethlehem to the tender mercies of Abdullah. It wants, and under the Garreau plan as under the decision of December 9 would undoubtedly gain, a permanent foothold in the Middle East, not simply so that it can convert "the heathen," but so that it can expand its sphere of influence.

The Nation is opposed to the Garreau plan and to the whole concept of a *corpus separatum.* We have no sympathy for Abdullah, who is a usurper and should long since have been forced out of Jerusalem and the other areas his Arab Legion occupied. But neither do we favor the "internationalization" of people, be they Jews or Arabs. The protection of the Holy Places does not require this sacrifice of human interests, as even the Garreau plan recognizes by applying a quite different principle to the Church of the Nativity and Bethlehem.

Non-Catholic countries have now had time to reflect on the implications of the Vatican "victory." Surely they must see that the prestige and independence of the United Nations are in jeopardy if reason and justice are to be sacrified to the will of the Vatican. Responsibility for leadership rests principally upon the United States as the largest democratic power committed to the principle of separation of church and state. Having voted against the December 9 resolution, the United States can properly point out to the Trusteeship Council the impracticability of any proposal based on the idea of a *corpus separatum.* It can urge the council to ascertain once again the views of Israel and Jordan; that both will reiterate their opposition is beyond doubt. The council would then be bound to inform the General Assembly of this fact and to ask for a new discussion of the whole issue at a regular or special session.

In the further exercise of its leadership the United States should sponsor a plan which will not only protect the Holy Places but gain the agreement of Israel and Jordan. Such a plan is found in the proposal for an international curatorship submitted to the United Nations by fifteen Christian leaders and since supported by many distinguished Americans. The proposal recognizes the existing partition of Jerusalem and limits United Nations authority to insuring protection of Holy Places and freedom of access to them, not merely in the Jerusalem area but throughout Palestine. A supervisory commission responsible to the Security Council and representing all the major interested religious groups would exercise these functions. The plan would probably find acceptance in Israel and Jordan. It could be carried into effect immediately, thus restoring the waning prestige of the United Nations. By announcing its support of such a plan and making a real effort to obtain indorsements the United States could practically insure its adoption when discussions are renewed by the General Assembly of the United Nations, as they must be renewed before the Jerusalem issue is settled.

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Welfare vs. Warfare

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

FEW economists, whether liberal or conservative, are altogether happy about Mr. Truman's red-ink budget. Even those who consider that it is far more important to achieve a balanced high-level economy than to insure that receipts at least equal expenses feel that a deficit is undesirable at a time when national income is close to the all-time peak and when employment is generally good. Would it not be prudent, they ask, for the Administration to keep something in hand by aiming at a surplus for the fiscal year beginning July 1 next? Then, if and when we were threatened by a definite recession, it would be easier to take appropriate fiscal counter-measures.

We have to recognize, however, that under present circumstances a balanced budget would be something of a miracle. The main reason for the deficit is not, as the enemies of the Fair Deal allege, welfare, but warfare of the "cold" variety. Defense, foreign aid, veterans' programs, and debt interest account for almost $30,000,000,000 out of a total estimated expenditure for 1950-51 of $42,500,000,000—71 per cent. Defense alone is to cost $13,500,000,000—$396,000,000 more than in the current fiscal year despite Secretary Louis Johnson's boasted economies. Nor is this in fact the total bill, for as I. F. Stone has pointed out in the *Compass*, some sizable defense items are included in the civilian section of the budget. Thus the $817,000,000 allotted to the Atomic Energy Commission, a large part of which, unfortunately, must be regarded as for military purposes, is to be found under the heading: "Natural resources not primarily agricultural."

Personally, I believe that expenditure on the armed services could be trimmed quite a bit without reducing their efficiency. But this is not a field which Congressional exponents of economy will rake diligently: indeed, if some Republican critics of government extravagance had their way, military expenditure would be pushed way up by such unlimited commitments as the defense of Formosa. Nor are appropriations for veterans, estimated at $6,080,000,000 for 1950-51 as against $6,905,000,000 for 1949-50, likely to be trimmed in Congress during a pre-election session, even though there is some evidence of overbuilding of hospitals and of boondoogling in connection with vocational-training programs. On the other hand, a determined drive to whittle down foreign aid is threatened by many Congressmen. Yet this section of the budget, for which the President is asking $1,253,000,000 less than in the current year, has already yielded larger savings than any other. It ought not to be cut farther, for it represents both the best hope of halting communism without resort to war and a contribution to the raising of economic standards throughout the world, a development essential for the maintenance of our own prosperity.

Assuming that for one reason or another the four items I have mentioned as composing 71 per cent of total expenditure are untouchable, it follows that a balanced budget could only be achieved by increasing taxes or by drastically reducing the $12,500,000,000 at present assigned to all other governmental functions. This sum—just about 5 per cent of our gross national income—is surely not an extravagant amount to pay for federal aid to health, education, housing, and agriculture, for the development of communications, power, and natural resources generally, for the promotion and regulation of trade and industry, and for the many other activities in which the government engages in response to democratically expressed demands. As Mr. Truman said to Congress, "The major question in my mind is not whether we are doing too much but whether the budgetary requirements of the major national-security and war-connected programs have constrained us to undertake too little toward supporting and stimulating . . . our country's great potential development."

This is not to say, of course, that every item of the civilian section of the budget is equally defensible. I agree with Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois, a liberal who supports welfare spending but dislikes waste, that there is an element of "pork" in the proposed Harbors and Rivers appropriation which ought to be eliminated and that there is no justification for subsidies to silver miners. I am more dubious about his proposal to postpone some road construction, for the inadequacy of the highway system leads to waste, including waste of life.

Looking at the budget problem as a whole, our chief concern must be its relation to economic stability. Are the right-wing critics justified when they charge that deficit financing is leading us to an inflationary crisis that will undermine the purchasing power of the dollar? I believe that they are grossly exaggerating the danger. In the first place, the cash deficit is likely to be much less than the "paper" deficit, which on the basis of present taxation is estimated at $5,133,000,000 in 1950-51. Taking into account social-security taxes, which at the increased rates proposed by the President will greatly exceed social-security disbursements, we find that the estimated excess of "payments to the public" over "receipts from the public" will be only $2,732,000,000.

It is this cash deficit that is potentially inflationary because it tends to place more purchasing power in the hands of the public. But while, as a result, the demand for goods may expand, it does not follow that there will be an inflationary rise in prices. That is only likely to happen if consumption begins to press heavily on sup-

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ply, and with three and a half million unemployed and many industries operating below capacity, there is considerable scope for increasing supply without any rise in the general price level. Thus until the number of jobless declines sharply we need not worry too much about the inflationary effects of a deficit. Indeed, if some of the economic prophets are right, we are going to encounter difficulties during the coming fiscal year in finding enough work for the net annual increase in the industrial population, estimated at about half a million. In that event, nothing could be more inappropriate than the definitely deflationary, overbalanced budget demanded by Senator Byrd and like-minded exponents of economy at any price.

Fair Deal Prospects

BY CHARLES VAN DEVANDER

Washington, January 13

THE President's three messages—on the State of the Union, the economic outlook, and the budget—and the reaction to them on Capitol Hill have sharply defined the issues on which the battles of the second session of the Eighty-first Congress will be fought. As Mr. Truman sees it, the need is for confidence in our steadily growing economy and action designed to encourage its growth. The Republicans and a few powerfully situated conservative Democrats assert that the paramount necessity is to cut government spending and balance the budget. These objectives clash head-on, and the struggle over them will eventually be carried into the 1950 Congressional and 1952 Presidential elections. To the contention that the President's program is "socialistic," the opposition now adds the argument that, anyway, we can't afford it.

There is a widespread belief, fostered by the Republican National Committee, that enactment of the Fair Deal program would call for expenditures far greater than those set forth in the President's $42,500,000,000 budget for the fiscal year starting July 1. In point of fact, however, the budget total includes sums estimated to cover the cost of all proposed legislation. It includes, for example, $290,000,000 for aid to the states for primary and secondary education, $50,000,000 for loans to cooperatives and other non-profit organizations for middle-income housing, $200,000,000 for increased grants to the states for public assistance, $30,000,000 for grants to medical, dental, and nursing schools to increase enrolments. It even includes $600,000 for the proposed Fair Employment Practices Commission. Altogether the budget is swollen almost a billion dollars by these estimates. They offer, of course, an obvious field for the economies which the Republicans and conservative Democrats are sworn to accomplish.

A moderate amount of Truman's 1948 program was enacted in the first session of the Eighty-first Congress—the housing bill, extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, extension of rent control, increase of the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour, and some other measures. More of it will go through in the present session: moderate extension and improvement of the social-security system seem certain; at least probable are federal aid to education, a middle-income housing program, a liberalized displaced-persons bill, and a bill to set up a National Science Foundation. The Democrats will be able to draw a favorable comparison between the mildly progressive accomplishments of the Eighty-first Congress and the retrogressive record of the Eightieth in the fields of farm and labor legislation, reclamation, foreign economic policy, and government finance. With respect to the last item, the five-billion-dollar deficits anticipated for this and the next fiscal year just about equal the loss in government revenue voted by the Eightieth Congress. Repeal of the Taft-Hartley act, enactment of the Brannan farm program, and inauguration of a medical-insurance program will remain as issues for the fall Congressional elections.

THE Republican Party seems to be cracking up more seriously than at any time since it entered its great depression period in 1930 and 1932. The Wherrys, Brickers, Malones, and Clarence Browns have finally made "me-tooism" such a term of reproach that the party is about ready to embrace blind opposition as a fixed policy. The first of a series of party conferences which are expected to produce a statement of principles for the Congressional elections is to be held here January 18 and 19. National Chairman Guy Gabrielson has appointed the ultra-conservative Clarence Budington Kelland secretary of the National Committee's policy group, and Senate and House Republicans have accepted him as an adviser and coordinator. If anything substantial emerges, it is likely to have little appeal for most voters and to be generally unacceptable to liberal Republicans. Senator Taft wisely opposed the plan to draft a new statement of party principles, but the pressure from the right for outlawing every "me-too" tendency was too strong. To some spectators the Republican Party seems moved by a mass Freudian impulse to suicide.

CHARLES VAN DEVANDER represents the New York Post *in Washington.*

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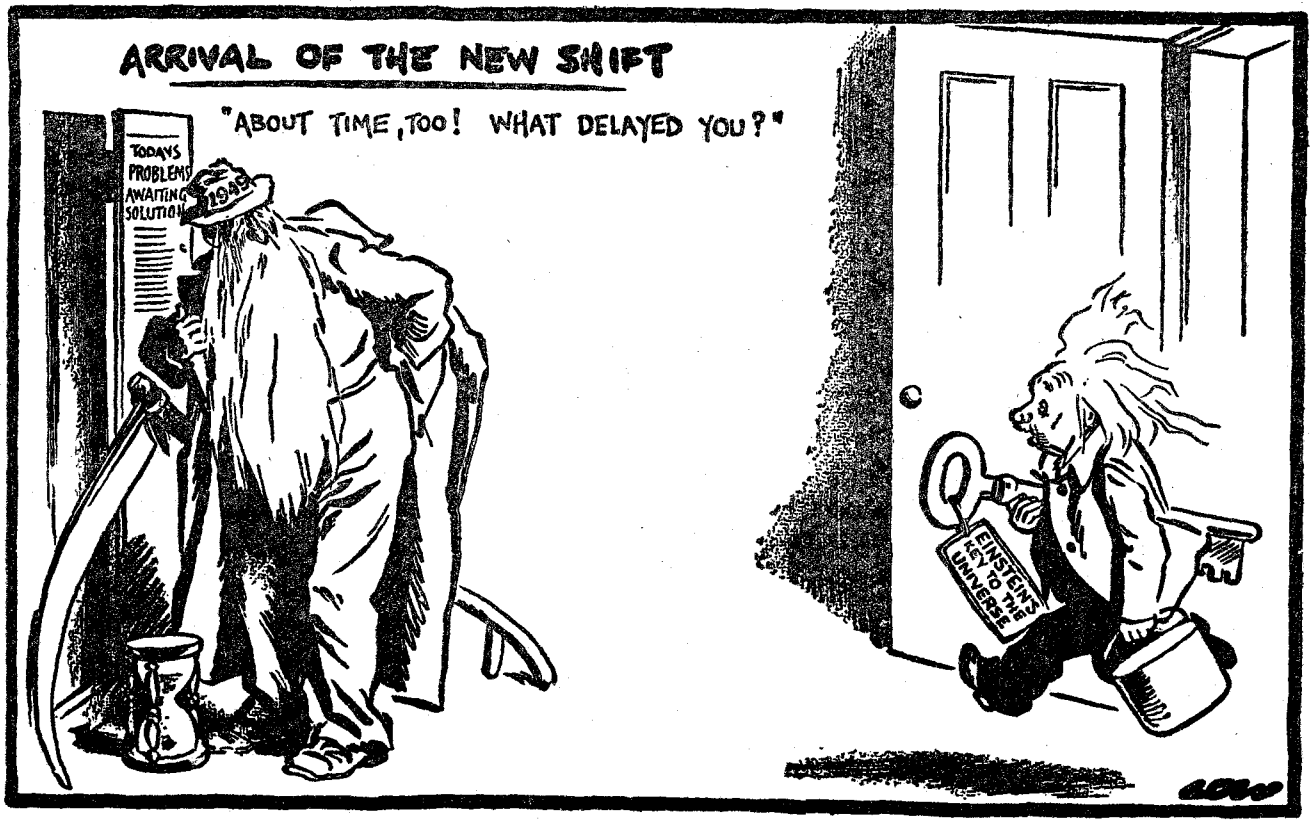
In foreign relations, now a lively political issue, the partisan attack on Administration policy in China has gained such impetus that even Senator Vandenberg has been carried along. Only a few Republican Senators, notably Lodge of Massachusetts, have maintained enough perspective to see that the majority would hitch the party's fate to the sinking star of Chiang Kai-shek. Meanwhile, the relatively enlightened Knowland of California and Smith of New Jersey have been talking recklessly about cutting off E. R. P. aid to Western European nations which recognize the Communist regime in China. Their position seems to be that if the State Department "radicals" have opened the back door to communism in Asia, they will themselves throw open the front door in Europe.

The President's statement of his program in his three messages was regarded as a masterly political job. His language was unprovocative, and he made his proposals sound reasonable, but he did not retreat an inch from the platform on which he was elected in 1948. Running through all three messages was the theme that the United States, now perforce in a position of world leadership, is on the threshold of a new era of prosperity and industrial expansion and that the present is no time for restrictive, penny-pinching policies. This is not a new optimism. Ever since 1945 Mr. Truman has been telling young people that they were entering the greatest period of opportunity the world has ever known.

At a press conference last week he talked in sweeping terms of the necessity for developing water-power resources in every section of the country, outlining a grandiose project for the Missouri, Ohio, and upper Mississippi valleys. The country, he said, could not possibly have too much electric power. The detailed knowledge which he revealed of specific projects, ranging from the Passamaquoddy tidal-power scheme to the Savannah River development and the power potential of streams in Arizona, amazed most of the reporters.

ON Capitol Hill the Senate plunged without delay into a five-day work week in the hope of cleaning up essential election-year business in time for adjournment by the target date of July 31. The House, which is farther advanced than the Senate in its two-year program, dallied through two weeks but is now settling down to work. After repeal of the oleomargarine tax, which is first on its schedule, the Senate plans to take up middle-income-housing and "basing-point" legislation and then to come to grips with Southern filibusterers on the bill to establish a Fair Employment Practices Commission, toughest of all the President's civil-rights measures.

It is no secret that the FEPC bill was selected for the civil-rights test, rather than the anti-poll-tax or anti-lynching bill in a deliberate effort to embarrass the Republicans. FEPC carries almost as many implications of the economic objectives of the Fair Deal and the Welfare State as it does of purely civil rights. The inevitable filibuster and the eventual roll call on the question of imposing cloture will furnish campaign ammunition, though the Administration will make every effort to pass the bill. Liberal Southerners up for renomination this year—among them Lister Hill and Claude Pepper


ARRIVAL OF THE NEW SHIFT
"ABOUT TIME, TOO! WHAT DELAYED YOU?"
TODAY'S PROBLEMS AWAITING SOLUTION
1949
EINSTEIN'S KEY TO THE UNIVERSE

London *Evening Standard*

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—are perfectly satisfied to have the fight take place before the primaries. They will oppose the bill and thereby strengthen their positions at home.

Except on the question of civil rights Southern Democratic opposition to the Fair Deal is visibly weakening. The failure of the Dixiecrat movement in the 1948 election was damaging to its sponsors. The latent forces of liberalism in the South are beginning to exert pressure in Washington just as the Republican component of the G. O. P.-Dixie partnership is swinging definitely to the right. This is one of the sound reasons for believing that the 1950 and 1952 elections may shatter the coalition against the Fair Deal and open the way to enactment of needed legislation.

Czechoslovakia Revisited

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

III. Prague, Rome, and Bonn

Prague, December 21

DISLIKE of the regime in Czechoslovakia is fairly widespread among the remnants of the middle class, the intellectuals, and some sections of the working class, even though many people in these groups "accepted" the February revolution and were intellectually interested in what it would produce. Some of the middle-class youth who were almost enthusiastic about the novelty of the system a year ago feel quite differently now. The countless meetings and Marxist-Leninist lectures, the gathering of signatures for Stalin's birthday and the laying of the cornerstone of a gigantic statue of Stalin on one of the hills overlooking Prague, as if to compete with the castle of Hracin, the rewriting of Czech history to present Masaryk and Benes almost in the guise of class enemies, as stooges, if not agents, of Western imperialism—all this is a dreadful bore.

At the same time hundreds of thousands of people, here as elsewhere, have acquired a vested interest in the regime. A "proletarian intelligentsia" is being formed which will replace the old intellectuals—working-class lads have a better chance than sons of the middle class to receive a university education. Instead of the officer corps rank-and-file Communists now lead the Czechoslovak army. Swarms of Communist lawyers and Communist factory workers are being trained. A new generation of writers is being artificially produced, nurtured on the wisdom of Comrade Zhdanov—"all our writers are expected to study Zhdanov." And if modern Czech composers who are heard on the radio are still extraordinarily reminiscent of Prokofiev or Shostakovich, that will not be tolerated for long. Nejedly, the veteran Minister of Education, has very strong views on music; he considers Smetana the great genius of Czech "people's art" and Dvorak a wretched cosmopolitan who should be played as little as possible.

The Czech Communists know, of course, that reeducating the entire nation will be a long process, but they are confident, or say they are, that just as the whole Russian people finally accepted the Soviet regime, the Czech people will accept their new system, too. It will take time to inculcate the idea that the main function of the trade unions is to demand higher production and not higher wages; it will take time to stop people from hankering after Western culture and to convince them that the Soviet regime in Russia is Czechoslovakia's own flesh and blood. But in another year or two, the Communists say, the country's prosperity and stability, plus the continuous propaganda, will have persuaded the large majority that all is for the best.

Already the Czech Communists have convinced themselves that their conflict with the church has demonstrated the "fundamental reasonableness" of the Czech people, including the clergy. "Of course," they say, "Archbishop Beran is carrying on his stay-in strike, and the other bishops go on moping—it would be a first-class political defeat for the Vatican if they didn't—but look at the ordinary priests, many of whom used to be as poor as church mice; they are all only too glad to get their salaries from the state. Let them have their 'mental reservations.' " The conflict with the church is not over yet, and the bishops may still cause the government considerable trouble, but the Communist Party is satisfied that it has won the first round.

Except in the countryside the Czechs were never very fervent Catholics, and as the French Catholic review *Esprit* remarks, the church's present *étatisation* is calculated to discredit it in the eyes of the people, who had some experience of a state church under the Hapsburgs. Rather far-fetched analogies are drawn by Communist speakers between present-day communism and the independent spirit of the Hussites. While a marked indifference to the church as such is noticeable, especially in the towns, attendance at services has grown in recent months, more in protest against the government's general policy than against its church policy. But this widespread moral support for the church is a minor concern of the government. In Slovakia the government-spon-

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ALEXANDER WERTH, The Nation's *correspondent in France, frequently visits the countries of Eastern Europe. This is the last of a series of articles on Czechoslovakia.*

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sored Catholic Action committees rule the priests with an iron hand, reminding them when necessary of the bad pro-Nazi record of the Slovak clergy in the time of Tiso. Catholic Action committees have also occupied the offices of the Archbishop's palace in Prague. Whether Archbishop Beran is really "on strike," as the Communists say, or under arrest is difficult to find out, but no one from outside seems to be able to call on him without the government's permission. Be that as it may, the government prides itself on having "solved" the church problem in "a truly reasonable Czech way" and on not having made Beran a martyr like Mindszenty.

IN TALKING to Czech Communists I have often raised the question of Germany. What do they think of the East German state, which was so cordially greeted by Stalin? What do they think of the West German Republic? On both points there seem to be two lines—the official party line and a less official line. Suslov's statement at the last Cominform meeting suggesting that the international situation had gravely deteriorated in the last two years caused real alarm and despondency among many Czechs. Others, however, judged this to be mere propaganda, believing that with the Russians in possession of the atom bomb, the danger from the "warmongers" in the West had diminished and not increased. The more informal Communist view of West Germany is that it does not, for the present, constitute a serious danger to Czechoslovakia; its economic basis is of course thought to be thoroughly unsound. One Communist leader remarked to me, "Western Germany can thrive economically only at the expense of France and Britain. If, not unnaturally, they oppose that, it will sooner or later go Communist." In this connection, it is interesting to observe that although Schumacher was Enemy Number One of all Communists until quite recently, the abuse of the Social Democratic leader in the Communist press is being, to say the least, soft-pedaled since he has been attacking Adenauer as an agent of the Allies.

When I asked about the possibility of West Germany finding markets for its output in the east, the same Communist said, "We are not going to do anything to make life easier for West Germany; we shall buy from it only the things we need badly, nothing more. While the western zone is economically well ahead of the eastern, the East German state has a sounder social and economic basis. Of course, East Germany is miserably poor at present, and even Czechoslovakia has been giving it some minor credits. But in a year or two Russia may be able to feed it and raise living standards above those in the western zone." "Of course," he added, "the bulk of the Germans hate the Russians and the Pieck-Grötewohl government, but economic forces are working in our favor all the time."

Relations between the Czechs and the people of East Germany are still far from cordial. The 200,000 Sudeten Germans who managed to escape expulsion in 1945 have been allowed to apply for Czechoslovak citizenship, but there is no suggestion of any Sudeten Germans being allowed to return from Germany. The Sudeten country has been more or less resettled with Czechs and Slovaks, and when the Russians urged the Czechs to take some of the Sudeten Germans back, they encountered such strong resistance that they did not persist. If a Greater Communist Germany should emerge from the convulsions of the coming years, the Czechs, like the Poles, would face the problem of German competition; so perhaps at heart they prefer Germany to be split in two.

The few Czechs who hope for a war that would "liberate" their country are more despondent about the prospect than they were a year ago. In the meantime, though still far from converted to the Soviet way of life, Czechoslovakia is being forcibly cut off from all contact with the West. No British newspapers are on sale except the *Daily Worker*, and last month visitors to the British reading-room were allowed to read the *Times* on only one day of the thirty. In this wilderness the British Council remains a tiny oasis of Western culture,

LOOKING BACKWARD

Seventy-Five Years Ago in "The Nation"

WHEN men are dying for a certain object by the ten thousand, to tell them their views are unconstitutional has an air of ghastly absurdity about it. Things that are done in war are hardly more likely to be drawn into precedent in times of peace than an officer who makes requisitions on the march is likely to rob on the highway after he returns home. The danger to free government from war begins after the hostilities are over, and lies in the desire and attempt of those who have been carrying on the war to keep up its doctrines and methods in quiet times and confer them into political usages. Therefore, although it made very little difference on what constitutional theory the slaves were freed or Southern cities occupied and governed between 1851 and 1866, it makes a great deal of difference on what constitutional theory the President sends troops down to New Orleans in 1875....If Congress has the power to "order a new election" in Louisiana, it has exactly the same power in Massachusetts. . . . Whatever affects the relations of the General Government to [the Southern] States affects its relations to all the States; and whatever the majority in Congress may be allowed to do when composed of virtuous and well-meaning men, it must be allowed to do when composed of wicked and designing men.—*January 21, 1875.*

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and its innocuous non-political lectures have a membership of about 600. *Gleichschaltung* is not complete yet. Czech scientists have been slow to accept Lysenko 100 per cent, as against Mendel, whose statue can still be seen in his native city of Brno. The Russians have been cautious in this matter; a Russian professor called Meshchaninov who lectured to Czech scientists on the subject tried not to be too categorical at this stage. But British and American residents are being expelled by the dozen every week, for no other reason than that they *might* become a menace to the state.

Prague impresses me as singularly like Moscow a year ago. The few resident or visiting foreign correspondents from the West are treated as a major nuisance; neither I nor any other Western correspondent was admitted to the Trade Union Congress this month. And then they complain when exaggerated and sometimes cockeyed stories about Czechoslovakia are sent out from Vienna!

No Retreat from Planning

BY LEON KEYSERLING

Washington, January 13

BARR KING'S article in *The Nation* of January 14 is so filled with misconstructions of my views that my obligation to *The Nation's* readers outweighs my desire not to engage in debate.

By incredibly distorting the discussion of old-age insurance on pages 21-32 of "Business and Government" (Fourth Annual Report, Council of Economic Advisers, December, 1949), Mr. King attributes to me the view that the building of hospitals, schools, public works, and the TVA is "non-productive" or of questionable value. Actually, pages 19 and 20 of "Business and Government" urge that public works, schools, and so on, which "build up our national wealth," should be geared to "the productive potential and capacity for growth of our economy over a reasonable span of years." The application of this principle, in my judgment, would result in larger and more constant outlays for these purposes than are currently being contemplated.

In fact, when Harold Loeb said in *The Nation* of June 25, 1949, that I favored too large expenditures for such purposes in time of prosperity and argued that they should be deferred until there was an economic downturn, I registered my protest in an article submitted to *The Nation* on August 4 but later withdrawn because space was not available for it until November. I said in that article: "The building of more schools and the employment of more teachers in good times may, of course, utilize materials and man-power that would otherwise be employed anyway in building sidewalk cafes and staffing them. But what of it, if we need schools more than cafes?"

The January, 1950, Annual Economic Review of the Council of Economic Advisers, which I signed, contains on pages 112-119 a discussion of the development of physical and human resources which makes it abundantly clear that my views are precisely the same as they have been throughout the past seventeen years.

Mr. King confuses my views on public improvements with the entirely different discussion of old-age insurance payments in "Business and Government." The point is made by the council, I believe validly, that payments to those who are retired "is not like the production of goods and services," that "the social-insurance programs make our economy somewhat stronger by cushioning it against fluctuations" but that retirement benefits represent mainly the fact that "as an enlightened nation we are willing or even eager to divert a portion of our annual output away from capital replenishment and away from consumption by current producers in order to make life more livable for those who are unable to produce through no fault of their own."

Further, Mr. King ignores the council's conclusions, based upon its analysis of old-age insurance. On page 23 of "Business and Government" it is stated that the amount of social security we can afford should be based upon the concept of an expanding economy, that commitments for future benefits should not be scaled down to the present size of the economy, and that "our nation can afford a considerably expanded social-security program without impairing our economic stability or weakening our growth potential." In its subsequent Annual Economic Review the council strongly reiterated this view.

Mr. King's other main point is that in concentrating upon the importance of general economic growth I deprecated or set aside the importance of income distribution. That is preposterous. Mr. King seems not to have read fully, or to be unwilling to quote in context, page 6 of "Business and Government," upon which he bases his discussion. There it is stated: "Of course, we cannot postpone efforts to improve the lot of the underprivileged until they can be lifted to reasonable levels by the lever of general growth. And measures directed specifically toward improving the productivity and incomes of

LEON KEYSERLING is vice-chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

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low-income groups have favorable impact upon the whole economy." I have favored and worked for so many programs based upon this premise that no one should be in doubt of my views. But I have always maintained, and the council has repeated in "Business and Government," that efforts to achieve a bigger national income are far more important than sharing what we now have, although policies for expansion must be supplemented by policies affecting income flow. This view of the council is generally shared by economists, social scientists, and thoughtful business men.

Mr. King insinuates that my views have "changed" recently for tactical reasons. They have not changed at all. Moreover, the discussion of income distribution on pages 96-98 of the Annual Economic Review demonstrates that my views on this subject, beginning as far back as anyone wants to go and extending into January, 1950, are about as different from those which Mr. King attributes to me as anything could be. Certainly, nobody can doubt that I have consistently favored such measures as public housing, minimum-wage laws, progressive taxation, and farm-price supports, all of which are designed to reinforce certain types of income. The reports of the council have repeatedly underscored the importance of these measures.

Space will not permit reference to all of Mr. King's efforts to turn everything that I have said upside down. For example, he charges me with the "assumption that our technical economic plant is adequate to our expanding needs." I have consistently and publicly advanced the contrary view. In a chapter on pathways to economic growth the Annual Economic Review says that our economic plant must grow if our economy is to grow, and that annual business investment in plant and equipment should be several billion dollars higher in 1954 than it was in 1948 or 1949, although those were peak years.

"Business and Government" needs no apology. It represents an effort, long overdue, to find common ground on which groups and persons within the American economy can increasingly work together for stability and growth. A liberal program does not rest on calling business men names. It rests on recognition that business as well as government has a responsible and vital role in the kind of economy we want to preserve and improve, and that the contribution which an enlightened business community can make is inestimably high.

Nehru and His Opponents

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, January 5

WITH the inauguration of the new constitution on January 26 the President of the Indian Republic, elected by the Constituent Assembly, will replace the Governor General of the Dominion of India—and the British king will play no part in the ceremony. The election of Rajendra Prasad, president of the Constituent Assembly which framed the permanent constitution, is almost certain to be uncontested. Both Prasad and Rajagopalachari, the present Governor General, who succeeded Mountbatten when independence was granted in 1947, are deeply respected as two of Gandhi's chief lieutenants, cherishing his principles and spiritual outlook on life. Neither will contest an election against the other. Prime Minister Nehru's Cabinet will go through the formality of resigning so that the President, in accordance with the constitution, may offer the seals of office to the members of his government, but no changes in personnel are expected.

About a hundred members of the Constituent Assembly who have also been members of their provincial parliaments while the permanent constitution was under discussion will now drop out, since the rules prohibit dual membership. Elections will be held to fill their places. Thus almost a third of the membership of the Assembly will be new. This body will be India's provisional parliament until the machinery is ready for general elections.

How long this provisional parliament will function one cannot say. Nehru has repeatedly declared that preparation of the electoral rolls on the basis of adult suffrage will be carried out with all possible speed and has expressed the hope that general elections may be held a year from now. However, the task is a stupendous one: the names of at least 160,000,000 voters must be placed on the rolls—a sixfold expansion of the existing electorate—and constituencies must be newly marked out. The lower house of the federal parliament will contain 500 members and the upper house 220. Election districts for the provincial legislatures must also be redrawn. Some think that the provisional parliament may have to remain in being until the end of 1951. One characteristic feature of Indian elections will, however, disappear at once. For forty years the British have insisted that voting be on a religious basis, with Hindus, Moslems, and Christians placed in separate registers.

SHIVA RAO, The Nation's *correspondent in India, was a member of the Indian delegation in the last General Assembly of the United Nations.*

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This practice bred religious animosities, and every election deepened them. Almost the first thing free India did two years ago was to abolish separate electorates.

IT IS too early to say which parties will take part in the general elections or what will be their chances of success. The Congress Party under Nehru's leadership is of course the best-organized group and will probably win a new national mandate, besides control of a number of provinces. If the results of recent elections can be accepted as a reliable measure of public opinion, the Socialists, who broke away from the Congress Party a year ago, will offer vigorous opposition, especially in some of the large urban centers like Bombay. Their success, however, is likely to be limited, since they lack both organization and resources. Moreover, their program suffers from being, on paper, too near that of the Communists, with whom they actually have irreconcilable differences.

Rajendra Prasad

The Communists will not neglect the opportunity to advance their cause offered by a general election. Just now they seem occupied with building up their nuisance value. This week there have been terrorist outbreaks in places as far apart as Calcutta in the northeast, Madras in the southeast, and Travancore in the extreme south. Police officials have been murdered and post offices looted. Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Patel, who has dealt firmly with the Communist menace in the past, has summoned a conference of top-ranking police officers to study the situation and to tighten vigilance measures.

The acute discontent throughout India cannot be concealed. The high prices of food and other essential commodities give anti-social elements a definite advantage which they do not hesitate to exploit for personal or party benefit. Cash wages have risen impressively in comparison with pre-war rates but have failed to keep pace with the cost of living. Black markets flourish, and scheming groups and individuals have made large fortunes. The common man, who expected prompt and visible all-round improvement as a concomitant of freedom, is disillusioned.

Nor is the discontent confined to the masses. Landlords, after collecting rents from the peasants for years without rendering them any service in return, are now being dispossessed from their land, and they regard the compensation awarded them as extremely meager. The Congress Party has been pledged for years to the abolition of absentee ownership, which has reduced the peasants to the status of serfs, and is therefore uncompromisingly opposed by the landlords. They will finance any group which will fight Congress candidates.

Some business interests also are uneasy about the Congress Party's attitude. Nehru, before assuming office, was committed to a policy of nationalization of certain key industries. Since becoming Prime Minister he has given business men and industrialists assurances which seem adequate to allay their fears; nevertheless, the business community would prefer a government with more conservative social and economic views than Nehru's.

In India's fluid situation one cannot altogether ignore the five hundred-odd princes. With the exception of Mysore, Hyderabad, and Kashmir, the princely states have been joined together or absorbed into neighboring provinces. This simplification of India's political and administrative problems was achieved with a minimum of friction and reflects great credit on the statesmanship and skill of Sardar Patel. It is unlikely, however, that all the princes will quietly accept the complete extinction of their political power. The forces of conservatism represented by the landlords, industrialists, and princes have immense resources and will probably make common cause as the general elections draw near.

One other element in Indian political life deserves separate mention—the Hindu Mahasabha. This organization stands aggressively for cancellation of partition and the absorption of Pakistan into India. Nehru has denounced its position. Pakistan's failure to recognize Gandhi's generosity toward the Moslems whipped some people into a frenzy and resulted ultimately in the Mahatma's murder. Now Pakistan's failure to recognize Nehru's anxiety to be fair is again strengthening the fanatical elements among the Hindus. Mahasabha has a conservative, even reactionary social and economic program. Whether it will prepare to challenge the Congress Party at the polls or attempt to infiltrate into its ranks is not yet clear. Any improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations will weaken Mahasabha's hold on the Hindus. Conversely, deterioration of relations will help to consolidate its influence.

The position of men like Nehru who are genuine believers in democratic practice and traditions will thus be assailed from various standpoints. But though Nehru's opponents and critics profess different ideologies, most of them have one characteristic in common: their faith in the democratic way of life is superficial if not non-existent. The paramount issue in India's general elections will be whether or not its people want social democracy.

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Del Vayo—Can the Left Make a Come-back?

I. A Significant Portent

SOMETIMES a very small event can mark a turn in politics. I have deliberately chosen the recent congress of the French Parti Socialiste Unitaire (P. S. U.) as the starting-point for an analysis of the fundamental political question in Europe today: Will the reaction which now holds sway almost everywhere in Europe continue for years, or can we hope for a come-back of the left in the not distant future?

The P. S. U. is a tiny party. In the various reports and statements made at the congress I found no mention of how many members it claims, which makes me think the number is not impressive. I know some of the leaders very well: Jean-Maurice Herman, Marcel Fourrier, Pierre Stibbe, and Jean Guignebert are capable newspapermen and organizers who used to be on the staff of *Franc-Tireur* and *Populaire;* Marcel Pouyet is a deputy in the National Assembly. All five are on the newly elected Steering Committee, which is headed by the former Socialist deputy Bloncourt.

The P. S. U. was one of the first groups which split off from the old Socialist Party because they could not swallow its acceptance of the government's shift to the right after the announcement of the Marshall Plan. Another dissident group became the Rassemblement Démocratique Révolutionnaire (R. D. R.), which was lent intellectual brilliance by such fashionable writers as Sartre and Rousset. The P. S. U., though probably no larger than the R. D. R., had a typically working-class membership. It is significant that while the party of the intellectuals has practically ceased to exist, the P. S. U. still survives.

On questions of foreign policy the unanimity of the party congress was complete. The program of action adopted called for (1) conclusion of peace in Indo-China based on recognition of Viet Nam's independence; (2) decentralization and denazification of Germany and support for popular democratic elements; (3) denunciation of all conventions signed with Franco's Spain, support of the Spanish Republicans; (4) repudiation of the Atlantic Pact; (5) support of proposals for the destruction of atomic weapons, under international control; (6) renewal of all treaties guaranteeing the country against a rebirth of the German danger; (7) recognition of the Chinese People's Republic; (8) intensive propaganda for peace; (9) severe reduction of military appropriations.

Some differences of opinion appeared when the congress debated the question of how the independent character of a left Socialist party could be maintained. On the eve of the congress the P. S. U. had been branded by most of the Paris press as a "mere appendage of the Communist Party," although the *Monde* had said it was a manifestation of Titoism. In his opening address Elie Bloncourt protested vigorously against the first accusation. "I tell you, with no reservations, that we are not a satellite of the Communist Party or of any organization. We are an autonomous, independent party; let there be no confusion or mistake about it." The accusation of Titoism was also denied, but some delegates insisted that they would discuss Titoism, as well as any other subject, if they wanted to, the right of free discussion being traditional among French Socialists.

I do not know whether the emphasis on the Socialist character of the party pleased the French Communist Party or not. Its organ, *l'Humanité*, gave the meeting no more than half a dozen lines, though it recognized the P. S. U.'s fidelity to "unity of action." *Combat* and *Libération* reported the congress fully, and *Combat* admitted that in spite of the party's readiness to defend the U. S. S. R. and the "peoples' democracies," it was evidently determined to emphasize its independent judgment on all current issues.

Cynics have said that *l'Humanité* paid so little attention to the congress in order to protect its godchild from the suspicion of being too closely connected with the party. But probably there was a deeper motive for its coldness. Until the day comes when the Communists are willing to adopt a strategy which permits them to work with other forces of the left, they will not support the attempt to build a new kind of *Front populaire*. One of the consequences of their isolation—and originally one of its causes—has been their insistence that they could have nothing to do with groups whose position was not absolutely identical with or subordinated to their own. In their peace congresses they have sought the support not of groups but of individuals—famous names in literature, science, and learning which they have imagined would give the movement an air of *ampleur*. If they had tried to win over an organized group they would have had to make concessions in violation of the present rigid theory and tactics of the Cominform.

In the domestic field the congress declared that the objectives of the P. S. U. included, among other things, (1) a minimum wage integrally related to the cost of living, (2) a national pension system for all wage-earners, (3) limitation of imports which hinder the development of French industry and agriculture, (4) negotiations for increasing trade with countries outside the dollar area. And it proposed that France take the initiative in calling a conference of all European nations, without exception, for the purpose of working out a new independent relationship to the United States. In addition, the congress advocated various measures designed to preserve previous social and political advances and to defend the republic against reaction.

The P. S. U. is, I admit, a small party which if elections were held this year would be lucky to win half a dozen seats in the National Assembly. The discussions and decisions of the congress, however, reflected the preoccupations of a large part of the European left today, the people who are not resigned to seeing the hopes of the Liberation buried and a Christian Democrat heading every government in Europe, with one ear turned toward the Vatican and the other toward Washington.

In two articles to follow I will carry further my analysis of the possibility of a come-back of the left.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Del Vayo's Autobiography

THE LAST OPTIMIST. By J. Alvarez del Vayo. The Viking Press. $4.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO is a multiple individual, each one of the components notable. He entered on the world stage as a foreign correspondent and became one of the best, winning some of the most cherished prizes of success in this profession. At times he used it as a disguise to function as a social revolutionary, in Germany, later in Spain, though at first with perhaps more zeal than effectiveness. Then he threw off the disguise to take part in the establishment of the Spanish Republic and the ensuing civil war. He rose to be Foreign Minister and Commissar of War, key posts at one of the most tragic moments of modern times. Now he reveals himself as autobiographer, and all his past activities combine to make his life story one of the most compelling of this epoch.

It is as autobiographer that he must here be appraised, and he can be enthusiastically commended for the part of the book which is truly personal narrative. This is on the highest level of historical autobiography; it is observant, detached, wise, human, and alive. In the preparation for his chief work in Spain Del Vayo was led through many interesting and instructive events, and his account of them is first-class writing.

His student days and his first journalistic work brought him into touch with revolutionary movements both at home and in Hohenzollern Germany. He enjoyed the friendship of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and he produces a warm, vivid portrait of this remarkable woman which will introduce her to many Americans in her true stature as one of the personalities of the century. He shifted to New York for the first years of World War I, studied at Columbia—where he was astonished by the self-sufficient detachment of most students—taught in a Berlitz school, translated documents for the Pan-American Union, and did the radical rounds under the guidance of a young Philadelphia socialite sowing her radical wild oats. He haunted Greenwich Village, attended labor meetings, discovered the common bond between Spanish anarchism and the I. W. W., and laid the foundations for a long and understanding relationship with the United States. He was already dabbling in foreign correspondence, writing articles for an impecunious left-wing Madrid journal. Then with the sinking of the Lusitania he dipped into his savings to cable his newspaper a full account of it and thus provide Madrid its first and ablest report, an act that fully certified his validity as the true journalist.

He returned to Germany in 1916 to take part in the start of the social upheaval that later was to overthrow the monarchy, and was slightly wounded by a saber blow in the May Day celebration staged by Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Berlin. He escaped to Switzerland, where he consorted with the strange people made up of the refugees from militarism, the apostles of revolution, and their attendant feverishly active spies. Here he was to encounter Lenin, and be present when he gave his last address to his Russian followers before being transported in the sealed train to Russia to create the modern Soviet state.

Back in Spain in 1917, he dug himself in professionally with such success that he could be sent as correspondent to cover the end of the war, the peace conference, and the innumerable special conferences needed to restore order in Europe. At the Genoa conference he scored one of the great newspaper beats of his time, the first story of the German-Russian treaty of Rapallo, which he had learned in full from his friend Walther Rathenau. The story of the making of this treaty is one of the best chapters in the autobiography.

In 1922 he went to Russia as member of the Nansen mission and witnessed the excruciating sights of the great famine. By 1923 *La Nación* of Buenos Aires, for which he had become roving European correspondent, decided to make him head of the bureau in Madrid, where, combining this job with that of correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*, he became the most influential journalist in Spain.

Spain under the Rivera dictatorship, with the disgrace of the Riff war to live down, was volcanic with social forces, and Del Vayo soon was in the thick of conspiracies. Engendering uprisings is not a mechanical enterprise, and two in which he took part fizzled lamentably through defective preparation. But he was on hand after the 1931 election to witness the abdication of the monarchy, and once more he scooped the world with the story. Not only did he tell it first to England and Argentina, but his cable, read in the Madrid telegraph office, was the first news of it to reach beyond the palace, and the flag hoisted by rejoicing postal employees gave the glad tidings to the Spanish capital.

The new-born Spanish Republic sent him as its youngest ambassador to Mexico, where he served from 1931 to 1933. Here is material for another admirable chapter, which includes a particularly happy tribute to Josephus Daniels, then on his notable mission to Mexico. He became a member of the League of Nations Chaco Commission in 1933, and was elected its chairman to lead the attempt to settle that obscure but bloody conflict. This makes for another dramatic and informative chapter.

The remainder of the book, autobiographically speaking, is somewhat of an anti-climax. All Del Vayo's life had prepared him for the great struggle in Spain. But he leaves most of this out, on the ground that he already has written of it in "Freedom's Battle," a history of the Spanish war. What should be included in this work, if it is to measure up to its potentialities, is not a history of that war but the author's reflections on it, with the refinements of hindsight and seasoned judgment. He has not essayed this task; it may still be too soon. Instead, the insatiable journalist crops up again. Del Vayo makes three important contributions to contemporary Spanish history: he reveals the truth about the shipment of Republican gold to the Soviet Union, about Prime Minister Negrín's relations with Communist

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Russia and his ideology, which was not Communist, and about the strange fate of the S. S. Vita, the treasure ship which fell into the hands of Prieto in Mexico and helped keep exiled Spanish Republicans riven into hostile camps, dooming the early restoration of the Spanish Republic.

From the fall of the Spanish Republic to the present, Del Vayo in his writing reveals yet another component of his multiple personality, the polemicist. The final chapters of the book, while disappointing autobiography, are admirable polemics. They include much just and lively criticism of Western policy, and give the left-wing Socialist's bitter analysis of the tragedy of post-war Europe. He has traveled far and wide, seen innumerable people, great and less great, since the war, and, indeed, he reentered Spain secretly this past year with a sentence of death hanging over him. But he obviously does not feel free to tell any of this intimately, since it involves living persons, some of them in great danger. He uses the material chiefly to propound his strong views about the nature of the modern world.

As to Del Vayo's own faith and zeal as expressed in this work, they are incontestably fervent and humane, and mark him as a consistent enemy of despotism and a true pioneer of militant socialism. That he is also a man of signal courage, of passionate sincerity and integrity, and of warm friendliness and charm is confirmed, not by what he tells of himself, but by the very art of his telling of his experiences. Here is a remarkable and lovable man, who has served his times with ability and modesty, and without stint or reservation.

RAYMOND SWING

The Three Sisters

THE PEABODY SISTERS OF SALEM. By Louise Hall Tharp. Little, Brown and Company. $4.

IN ONE way or another the Peabody sisters spanned the whole circle of the New England renaissance. As everyone knows, Sophia, the youngest, became Hawthorne's wife. Mary, the middle sister, married Horace Mann, reformer of the Massachusetts public-school system and first president of Antioch College. Elizabeth, the oldest and unmarried, was the prototype of the female "come-outer," championing every worthy cause of the century from Abolition to kindergartens. It was thus in her old age of humanitarianism gone to seed that she finally achieved immortality as Miss Birdseye of Henry James's "The Bostonians." But her great days—her real "moment"—had been in the 1840's, when her bookshop on West Street was the power-house of transcendentalism, where the *Dial* was edited and Margaret Fuller held her Wednesday "Conversations."

The sisters have figured in the background of so many New England studies that a biography of them in their own right fills a real void, especially one based on such careful research and so readably written as Mrs. Tharp's. One quarrels at times with her sense of perspective, but her flair for setting and psychology brings the Peabody world to life in a significant way. Of Mary one had known little in any case, and one understands Sophia and Elizabeth much better for her work.

Thus she is able to add many fresh touches to the most famous episode in the sisters' lives—the romance of Hawthorne and Sophia. The nature of the chronic invalidism, for instance, from which Hawthorne rescued Sophia becomes clear, as Mrs. Tharp puts it in terms of the dominance her mother and Elizabeth exercised over her in different forms. So too the change Hawthorne wrought seems, if no less a miracle, a more explicable one. As one might have surmised, the gushing ethereality which was Sophia's expression of her mother's inveterate genteelism masked a really passionate temperament. She who could write approvingly that "Mr. Emerson is Pure Tone" could also tell how, flushed and disheveled, she "sprang from her husband's embraces" to receive Margaret Fuller at the Manse. And it further defines her relationship with Hawthorne to follow her relapse to the maternal pattern after his death and watch her weaving for her own daughters the same net of psychic dependence with which her mother had ensnared her.

The figure of Mrs. Peabody looms portentously through Mrs. Tharp's account. Indeed, her book—though this is not exactly its intention—is perhaps most valuable as a document of the great American gynecocracy in its pristine bloom, that "monstrous regimen of women" in which the male as father is reduced, like poor Dr. Peabody, to a family cipher and as son is spoiled by indulgence without responsibility, like the Peabody brothers or Julian Hawthorne. The marks of this over-feminized *ambiente* are on each of the sisters' lives. Mary protected herself from its stresses by an excessive emotional reserve which involved her in a tragic estrangement from her husband during

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his last days—though the fault here perhaps lay as much in Mann's fanatical zeal for his educational task at Antioch. Elizabeth, finally, developed its elements of dominance to proportions that made her—in certain phases, at least—an intolerable busybody. Goaded beyond endurance, Hawthorne once wrote her, apropos of some gratuitous advice she had sent Sophia, "I sometimes feel as if I ought . . . to endeavor to enlighten you as to the relation between husband and wife. . . . But the conjugal relation is one God never meant you to share, and which therefore he apparently did not give you the instinct to understand; so there my labor would be lost."

Mrs. Tharp does not soften Elizabeth's personal angularities, but her approach to Elizabeth as a public character is a rather uncritical one. Here, one feels, Elizabeth calls for historical judgment as well as psychological understanding. Granting her admirable qualities—her gifts as teacher and conversationalist, her zeal, her energy, her responsiveness—she was too much a type of feminist with humanitarian failings as well as virtues not to receive a more fundamental kind of consideration than Mrs. Tharp brings into play. Both as literature and social criticism "The Bostonians" is brushed aside altogether too airily:

> It is easy to be funny about the good and the virtuous. . . . "The Bostonians" was read and taken much more seriously than now seems possible, considering the incredible dialogue, the unconvincing characters created so obviously for the sole purpose of proving the case against equal suffrage. . . . Miss Birdseye gave [James] away by proving to be the only character in the book even remotely alive: Shabby-genteel, ridiculously altruistic, and even pro-women's-rights she might be—but she was also the salt of the earth.

But, alas, in a public and historical sense, the salt had lost its savor. Hawthorne had known that there was something basically awry with Elizabeth's world in its bright transcendentalist beginnings; James, one conceives, was as penetrating in his record of its latter-day phase of more and more heterogeneous "causes" more and more indiscriminately espoused. Neither is a witness to be taken lightly.

So, in general, one comes to less brisk and cheerful conclusions about the Peabody sisters than Mrs. Tharp does. Nevertheless, she has assembled the materials for judgment in her book and assembled them expertly.

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.

NEWFOUNDLAND HARBOR

(A Painting by Arthur Davies)

Not accidental are these spiritual shapes
Seen on this rocky shore; flushed with the red
Of cliffs behind them they delay their running
Down air a moment, manlike but not men.
This solitary cove of fishing boats
We know for their indubitable home.
Here are the very spirits of the place
Come visible; their bare emergent forms
Abstracted from the cliffs and luminous air
Authenticate our guesses, burn away
Doubt as the sun burns fog off. While we look
We can no longer tell outer from inner;
Place becomes person, person becomes place.

Make affirmation of what thing you know;
This is the utmost man can do for man.
(So pigment cries plainer than words could do.)
Bring attestation in; record your soundings;
Charts are made this way. Inked-in patient findings
Lessen sea-terror; jot by jot brought landwards
("Ten fathoms at this spot"—"A floor of reef"—)
Becomes in time a map, a thing for trust.

This man has set down for all eyes to see
One thing he came on in his hour of living,
His own, seen firsthand, flashingly, not ever
To be let slip: constituent of knowing
Most sure of all because most pure, most blinding.
Such knowing comes to be our only wealth,
Whether hard-earned, slow-apprehended, or tossed
In gratis by the casual lightning flash.

"Inhabitants are these"—who now can doubt it?—
"Inhabitants, not conjured visitants
"Of these flushed cliffs, this solitary cove.
"Once seen is known forever: spirit is here
"Treading this harsh shore lightly, being at home."

Always, wherever we look, single is double,
Like the moon's disc, two-faced; always double is single,
Like the moon's great rondure; old identity
Is all there is; it covers like a hand.

ABBIE HUSTON EVANS

Labels and Assertions

A LONG DAY'S DYING. By Frederick Buechner. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

"A LONG DAY'S DYING" is a first novel. Addressed to the audience which prefers Henry James and Elizabeth Bowen to Sinclair Lewis and John O'Hara, it carries on every page signs of Mr. Buechner's intent that it shall be serious, sensitive, and complex. It has been praised by Isabel Bolton and Christopher Isherwood, novelists for whose critical judgment I have, ordinarily, great esteem. It seems to me the most curiously bad book I have read in months, but with an individual badness from which one can learn much about the central problems of novel writing.

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To begin. Mr. Buechner's subject is relationships—specifically, the complicated, ingrowing relationships within a tiny group, united by what its members hope is a common sensibility and common values, the sort of circle which James examined dispassionately in "The Awkward Age" and Elizabeth Bowen anatomized in "The Death of the Heart." Mr. Buechner sees *his* circle lovingly and uncritically.

The action is slight. An English instructor from what is obviously Princeton University goes to bed with the beautiful mother of his favorite student, a gilded youth, also beautiful, with whom the instructor is almost but not quite in love. The repercussions of this one-night stand destroy the circle, alienating the woman from the instructor and from a large fat man, Tristram Bone, a twentieth-century Count Fosco (he sounds as if he were intended as a heterosexual version of the Baron de Charlus), who loves her and wants to marry her. They also cause the death of her ancient and wise mother. All this goes on in unexceptionable surroundings—the East Fifties, the Cloisters, and Princeton.

There is nothing wrong with the *donnée* here, or with the setting, although Mr. Buechner is a little urgent about the special charms of gardens and interiors. The plot of "The Spoils of Poynton" is more trivial, considered, that is, simply as plot. But "A Long Day's Dying" merely labels and asserts. It never realizes. Again and again we are told that these are wise, charming, cultivated, and subtle people, but all that is really established is that most of them are rich and that they exist in a milieu in which Audubon prints, the unicorn tapestries at the Cloisters, and the Marschallin's farewell from "Rosenkavalier" constitute cultural chic. The trappings of culture become so many labels to define character and to explain intricate behavior. What Tristram Bone feels for Elizabeth Poor—and on the relation between them the credibility of the novel depends—is never made clear, although we learn a great deal about their apartments.

Unlike most bad novels, however, this book is *written*, and so skilfully that it will mislead many readers. The style is a combination of the later James and of what sounds most of all like George Moore after he had, so unfortunately for his art, perfected his storyteller's monotone. There are innumerable Jamesian involutions imposed on an action which is not apprehended as James would have apprehended it. The result is a startling disparity between a prose needlessly ornate and subtle and an action and characters which seem never to be quite clear to the author himself and, in any event, never so complex and profound as his prose would have us believe. It is impossible to say whether this is a promising first novel, for Mr. Buechner's impressive mimetic powers—whether he has exercised them deliberately or not is of no importance—obscure whatever other gifts he may have.

ERNEST JONES

The Vatican's Bid for Power

THE VATICAN IN WORLD POLITICS. By Avro Manhattan. Gaer Associates. $3.75.

AVRO MANHATTAN is an Italian left-wing publicist whose broadcasts over BBC when he was in London during the war won him a reputation as an authority on international affairs. In this hard-hitting book, first published in England, he draws up a heavily documented indictment of the political, social, and economic activities of the Catholic hierarchy the world over. Like Paul Blanshard in "American Freedom and Catholic Power," Mr. Manhattan is not concerned with theological matters, except as faith in the inevitable worldwide triumph of the Catholic dogma is the dynamic for its present crusade for the ultimate "Catholicization" (Mr. Manhattan's word) of the world.

Liberals who know something about the workings of propaganda—incidentally, the word itself was first used in its present sense by the Catholics in their "Propaganda Fide," the society organized at Rome during the counter-reformation of the sixteenth century—often wonder how effective all the ostentatious pomp and circumstance of the hierarchs may be in winning the loyalties of men. What do plain people think when they see the pictures and read the descriptions of the ceremonies attendant upon the celebration of the Holy Year? The manipulators of the

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propaganda machine are supposedly the shrewdest of operators, but they recently proved anything but infallible when they allowed Cardinal Spellman to attack Mrs. Roosevelt, and they seem now to be overplaying their fine Italian hand in their publicity on Holy Year. Many Catholic laymen, realizing what a contrast is presented between the Vatican's conspicuous display and the simplicity of living of the first Christians, are worried about the effectiveness of all this holy hoopla.

Sometimes, when reading books by Catholics boasting of their power or by non-Catholics decrying it, we become panic-stricken at the prospect of a Communized Eastern and a Catholicized Western world. In his book Avro Manhattan, time and again, hints broadly at such a consummation, intimating that in order to crush communism even the most democratic nations will accept Catholicism as the lesser of two evils. Though of course this makes his book sound like "an alarm bell in the night," it is doubtful whether such sensationalism serves the liberal campaign for the complete separation of church and state. This means any church and any state. It was just the other day that the Anglicans in England let loose a blast against the British Labor Party and were soundly reprimanded by government spokesmen. If liberals this side of the Atlantic were as prompt to nip in the bud any attempt, spearheaded by clerical hierarchies, to intervene in political matters, we might come to a showdown which would reveal the myth of the "Catholic vote."

Naturally nothing is more pleasing to Catholic publicists than to have their propaganda taken at face value. Jittery Protestant leaders see in every parish priest a black-cloaked Machiavelli. They look on Monsignor Sheen's conversion of a handful of intellectuals as a mass movement and fear that the march to Rome to join in the crusade against communism is inevitable. This cheers up the workers in the various Catholic "power-houses" no end, just as the Communists are cheered whenever they can persuade the gullible to accept their version of Moscow's mighty influence over American thought. There are plenty of indications that things are not going so well for either black or red authoritarians. A distressing disparity is apparent between the money and effort devoted to propaganda and the tangible returns in membership. In both camps backsliding has become endemic. Many Catholic spokesmen, realizing the growing resentment against the reactionary attitude of the hierarchs, are going up and down America reading excerpts from the encyclicals of the more liberals popes from the time of Leo XIII, who in 1878 first laid down the economic and social line for the church. As Mr. Manhattan points out, this "liberalism" in the economic-social sphere usually "boils down to an advocacy of the corporate state as attempted by European fascism, and hostility to socialism and, above all, communism." However, there will be many Catholics to question the efficacy of this work conducted by the National Catholic Welfare Council.

Nothing I have written here should be taken as an attempt to minimize the real threat to all our democratic values offered by the Vatican's bid for world power. I merely suggest that it is as dangerous to overestimate the strength of an institution as to underestimate it. I believe that Mr. Manhattan in many instances, notably in his chapter on The Vatican in the United States, is guilty of exaggeration. And that is too bad, because Catholic publicists will be quick to point out some of the more fantastic speculations of the book—as to our transformation into a Catholic America for example—and thereby dismiss the solid body of the indictment. The book is packed with material, a great part of it from Catholic sources, which makes it a most valuable contribution to this highly controversial subject. The author first describes the elaborate apparatus set up by the Vatican for the promotion of its political enterprises and then discusses in detail the workings of that apparatus during and since World War I in the principal European countries and in the Americas. He describes the mission of Catholicism with its four hundred million nominal members as that of converting "the whole of mankind, not to Christianity, but to Catholicism." Consequently, he says, "the Catholic church, more than any other religious denomination, cannot confine itself to a merely religious sphere. For the fact that it believes its mission to be that of maintaining and furthering the spiritual dominion of Catholicism brings it immediately into contact—and very often conflict—with fields adjoining religion."

MCALISTER COLEMAN

In the Aleutians

ALEUTIAN INTERVAL. By Courtland W. Matthews. Frank McCaffrey Publishers, Seattle. $2.50.

MR. MATTHEWS is not a practiced poet, but his versified account of life in the Aleutians during the war has a sweetness and sensitivity, an unaffected quality, that are quite appealing. Meditative and lyrical rather than epic —the jacket's word—in tone, this longish poem, nine sections, about fifty pages, conveys without either melodrama or convention the sense of the scene and the experience. The publisher deserves a share of the credit not only for taking a calculated risk but also for giving the book a decent format; the quality of the paper and the interesting jacket are both out of the ordinary.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

TO GO from the Sadler's Wells performances to those of the New York City Ballet Company was, for one thing, to go from all the wit and delight of Ashton's comedy ballets into another world of a higher order of powers and achievement—the world of Balanchine's imagination operating with his dance vocabulary, his feeling for music, his theater sense to create the richness, complexity, and power of the slow movements of "Sinfonie Concertante," "Symphony in C," "Concerto Barocco," the "themes" of "The Four Temperaments" and their later elaboration, and other things of the kind. These other things included Balanchine's two new works: his new version of "The Firebird," with Stravinsky's music and Chagall's scenery and costumes; and "Bourrée fantasque," to music of Chabrier.

"The Firebird" gave the company its first box-office success with the public and pleased John Martin, who contended that Balanchine had "never been more freshly inventive nor used his perhaps not so fresh devices from other ballets with more aptness." To which I would say that "The Firebird" is certainly a fine work, but that among such dramatic ballets of Balanchine "Le Baiser de la fée" is a work of far greater stature and power; that the invention for the pas de deux of the prince and the captured bird is fresh and imaginative in the way it is related to the dramatic situation, but no more so than the invention for the two pas de deux in "Le Baiser" in which the fairy possesses the boy, or for the wonderful episode of the boy and his bride looking for each other and their playful and tender pas de deux when they find each other; and that such invention occurs constantly throughout "Le Baiser" in a richer profusion than in "The Firebird."

I might add that a few details of "The Firebird" seem to me open to question. The sensational climax of the pas de deux, in which the bird is swung at arm's length by the prince in large circles, has a violence which seems to me excessive in a dance that until then

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expresses the prince's gentleness and courtesy with the bird he has captured. In the infernal dance Kastchei is not the terrifying figure he should be, and dramatic confusion and weakness result from the prince's leaving the stage and returning to it repeatedly, especially after he has waved the feather: once attacked by the monsters, it seems to me, he should be involved with them until his final victory. At this point, the program says, "the secret of Kastchei's power is discovered and broken"—a reference to the breaking of the huge egg in the Fokine version, an effective detail which I think it was a mistake for Balanchine to omit. And I think a conclusion as glamorous and grandiose as Fokine's—and as Stravinsky's—is called for, rather than the quiet simplicities of a few peasants.

Mr. Martin also made known his decision that on the basis of her dancing in "The Firebird" Maria Tallchief was now to be "admitted, formally, as it were, to the ranks of the real ballerinas"—to which I would say that the clarity, elegance, and brilliance of Tallchief that are exciting in "The Firebird" have been evident and exciting for some time in "Sinfonie Concertante," "Symphony in C," "The Four Temperaments," and other works. He said nothing about Francisco Moncion; but Edwin Denby said it all after Ballet International's season five years ago, when he described Moncion as "the most gifted American character dancer (if one may use the term for dramatic characterization in ballet)," and added: "Moncion, well trained as a classic dancer, strong and manly, is like a modern dancer in the freedom with which he can use torso, arms, and neck. But his exceptional gift is his intense imaginative sincerity. He creates a character completely. . . ." What I am aware of, in addition, is that Moncion, on the stage, is a powerful presence in the way that great dancers are and that no other male dancer in the New York Company is.

"Bourrée fantasque," also a popular success, has in its first scene some of Balanchine's most hilariously witty and amusing invention since "The Ball" and the early scenes of "Cotillon"—the rest being as good as even a hurried product of resourceful craftsmanship will be when the craftsman is a Balanchine. And the stars of that first scene are Tanaquil LeClercq, who revealed her comic gift once before in "Punch and the Child," and Jerome Robbins, a delightful comic as far back as "Three Virgins and the Devil."

As for the other new works, Lew Christensen's "Jinx," first given by Dance Players in 1942, has some charming, ingenious, and amusing details, especially in the danced circus stunts, but does not realize its dramatic idea with sufficient sharpness and force; and William Dollar's "Ondine" offered two lovely pas de deux but was diffuse and repetitious as though not yet worked out into final form.

To go from the Sadler's Wells performances to those at City Center was also to go from the perfection achieved by a stable and long-rehearsed company to the imperfection and unevenness of a company with many new dancers after only four weeks of exhausting rehearsal. And also to the imperfection, and in some instances sheer disaster, achieved by dancers as incompetent for what they were given to do as Lois Ellyn and Dick Beard in the second movement of "Symphony in C"—Beard being explosively destructive to a performance even when galumphing about eagerly in a minor part. Melissa Hayden was precise and brilliant in "The Four Temperaments"; Janet Reed danced beautifully in "Concerto Barocco" but blurred what Tallchief makes so clear in the first movement of "Symphony in C"; and Pat McBride, in the big parts she was given this time, did very well and promised even more.

CONTRIBUTORS

RAYMOND SWING, distinguished commentator and lecturer, is the author of "How War Came."

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR., is working on a biography of Francis Parkman for the American Men of Letters series.

ABBIE HUSTON EVANS has published two volumes of poems, "Bright North" and "Outcrop."

ERNEST JONES, who is a regular contributor of reviews to *The Nation*, is a member of the English Department at Queens College.

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